LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Storm Warning

WAL HANNINGTON

Balance-Sheet Of War

R.P.D.

Indian Elections

D. K. BOSE

March, 1952

One shilling and sixpence

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SWING THAT PENDULUM!

RECENTLY at a small meeting of readers, discussion turned on a view still popular in some Labour movement quarters: that all that is necessary is to sit back and let the Tory Government make more 'mistakes,' and wait for the 'swing of the pendulum'—famous phrase dear to hack writers and adherents of the game of ins and outs. They agreed with the speaker that it was a deadly illusion; that the point was to stand up and *swing that pendulum.* While we sit and wait, the most ruthless burdens are imposed and the drive to war is ever more furious. To assist in promoting Labour unity for an active forward programme is to help in swinging the pendulum; in its modest way that is what this magazine sets out to do. Judging from readers' letters, two trends are now felt at work. First, the pinch of the all-for-war cuts, like the Lancs. reader who is 'out of work through rearmament and having to watch every penny', Secondly, ever new hands stretching out to swing that pendulum. A new Midlands reader happens upon *L.M.* and finds 'answers to some of the hundreds of questions I have been asking myself these last two years on affairs at home and abroad. It blows like a fresh wind through the propaganda of the Press.' How many thousands more like him seek answers through the fog of propaganda they know in their bones to be false and wrong? How many more could we reach, with our readers' help? A Londoner told me: 'I've read it from the first number, always look forward to it, especially the Notes; they're like acid biting into metal. But there are dozens of people I've never asked to take it—just kept it to myself.' Now, he is not the man to make that discovery and then sit back; he goes out and swings that pendulum. Result: in the next two week-ends, canvassing friends, adversaries, workmates and neighbours, he got 25 people 'to take it regularly. Nobody I asked refused. Just think, an old hand like me not having got around to it before!' (They included three councillors, a co-op manager and at least one shop steward.) I found it hard to keep a straight face the other day when I was asked: 'Is *L.M.* read in the factories? I thought it was popular with the salaried class but above the working class'. On my desk that day were letters about regular sales at one of the biggest Midlands trades councils, and how a busy shop steward convenor had just won three new readers in his factory (and what a lot of time that will save him!) That same week I listened to a worker from a huge Essex factory describing how much it was valued there, and how 20 or so met regularly each month to discuss the Notes. For, he explained, 'it is not just something to be read; it needs to be studied and discussed'. He went on to say that 'some of the lads found Mao Tse-tung's articles on Marxist theory (Concerning Practice) a little hard to get into at first, but *together* they got the hang of it'. Nothing that is of value to them is 'above' the working class; while you find *L.M.* readers everywhere, you find them really concentrated among the most active thinking members of the Labour movement. Now, the more *L.M.* circulation expands, the larger the number of active thinking people in the Labour movement there will be. That is why we look for, and find, our keenest self-appointed 'circulation managers' or '*L.M.* agents'

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Notes of the Month

Balance-Sheet of War

Or Thoughts for Budget Day

Should the American and British imperialists dare to unleash a third world war it will cost world capitalism even more than the two previous world wars; it can only hasten the doom of world capitalism.

(P. N. Pospelov, Lenin Memorial Address, January, 1952.)

THIS warning is timely and important. It does not mean that the extension of a third world war over the world is either inevitable or desirable. But it does give a grave warning. The continuous extension of local wars of aggression by the Western Atlantic Powers against the nations of other countries in two continents is beginning to reach a stage comparable to the Axis preliminary local wars of aggression against Manchuria, Abyssinia and Spain, which heralded the second

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world war. Therefore, action is urgent to prevent the flames of war engulfing the whole world. In this serious situation the rulers of the Western Powers, and especially the American and British imperialists, are warned that the outcome of the third world war they plan would be very different from their calculations.

Our Aim is Peace

We do not choose this path. Communists do not seek to achieve the aims of the liberation of mankind through the horrors of a third world war. On the contrary. All the intense and multiplied efforts of the Communists, and of the Soviet Union in the first place, together with the many millions of the world peace movement, are directed to the supreme aim to prevent a third world war and to win the fight for peace. Only a criminal and desperate madman would choose the path of war. But it is precisely this stage of criminal and desperate madness that has now been reached by many powerful rulers of Western imperialism, who openly preach nihilism, deride the future of the human race and proclaim the extinction of humanity as preferable to the victory of a classless society ('Better risk a war of possible annihilation than grasp a peace which would be the certain extinction of free man's ideas and ideals.'—General Eisenhower, March 27, 1950). Hence the danger. Communists do not fear the furious threats of world imperialism. There is no doubt of the final outcome, whatever the path of struggle. But we have no wish to inherit a world in ruins, with scores of millions killed and crippled, in order to begin a slow and painful new construction. We seek to advance along the path of political and social progress without a new world war, and before a new world war is let loose by the madmen of the old disorder. We believe that this goal is possible and attainable, not because of any goodness of heart of the warmakers of the imperialist camp, but through the rising strength of the peoples throughout the world and their desire for peace. Therefore we strive for peace.

The Past Warns

In 1938 the *Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* defined the stage reached by the international situation in 1937, following the Italian war on Abyssinia, the German-Italian military aggression against Spain, the seizure of

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Austria, and the Japanese invasion of Central China and occupation of Shanghai:

> All these facts show that a second imperialist war has actually begun. It began stealthily, without any declaration of war. States and nations have, almost imperceptibly, slipped into the orbit of a second imperialist war. It was the three aggressor states, the fascist ruling circles of Germany, Italy and Japan, that began the war in various parts of the world. It is being waged over a huge expanse of territory, stretching from Gibraltar to Shanghai. It has already drawn over 500 million people into its orbit.

Thus the second world war developed 'almost imperceptibly' through a series of local wars and aggressions of the fascist Aggressor Bloc.

Then and Now

Today a situation has been reached, when the Western Atlantic War Bloc, the heir in bankruptcy of the Axis and plagiarist of all its anti-Soviet and anti-communist slogans, is steadily extending its wars of aggression, invasion and devastation against country after country—Korea, Malaya, Vietnam, Egypt, Tunis, and now new threats of all-out air-sea war on China. Then, a decade and a half ago, the resistance of the peoples, though reaching a high point, was not yet strong enough to turn the tide of events; and in particular, was not strong enough to defeat the reactionary policy of the British and French Governments, which held the key; and therefore the road led, through the Tory anti-Soviet path of Munich, to full world war. Today there is still time and strength to halt the tide of war before it reaches to full world war. But to achieve this it is essential to check the local wars already in progress; and, above all, it is essential to change the present policy in Britain, which even more today than then holds the key position in the world situation. The Old Munich policy made Britain the conniving accomplice in fascist aggression. In that sense Britain held the key during those years. The New Munichite policy makes Britain the main active partner in the Aggressor Bloc led by the United States. Hence a change of policy in Britain can end the Aggressor Bloc and open the gates to peace. There is no doubt that the conditions are gathering for such a change of orientation in Britain, as the disastrous consequences of the present American war strategy are making themselves felt, especially in the economic field. This is the significance of the fight which now develops around the Budget and the whole policy of the Churchill Government.

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Voices of War

It is important to emphasise this sharpening urgency of the war menace, since Mr. Eden, as Foreign Secretary, in the Parliamentary debate on foreign affairs which opened on February 5, sought to lull the rising storm of criticism by denying it—'the fear of immediate war has not increased—is indeed less'. This remark may deserve to rank in complacency with the similar remarks of Mr. Chamberlain's Ministers during the spring of 1939. To maintain his case Mr. Eden had to profess virgin ignorance of the glaringly aggressive war declarations of leading American military and naval commanders and Government Ministers during the past few weeks, like those of Admiral Fechteler and Secretary of the Navy Kimball, or of influential policy-makers like Foster Dulles. When examples of these were quoted to him in Parliament, he could only plead pathetically that 'I have not the details. . . . If I had had notice I would naturally have looked up these statements. . . . I cannot answer for the American Government. . . . In the United States I did not hear any statements of that kind made to us. I do not know why honourable members should laugh at that.' A remarkable Foreign Secretary who has apparently to be kept in cotton wool by his officials lest his innocence should be sullied by any information of the facts of life. But ignorance, as the legal maxim has it, is no excuse for guilt where there is a duty of knowledge, and, in the case of anyone holding responsibility for the lives and deaths of his fellow countrymen, makes the guilt greater. No doubt, when the debate is resumed, he will be provided with a suitable brief of explanations and apologias. But all the official whitewash cannot remove the alarm which is felt in the widest circles in Britain over the plain drive of powerful forces in the United States towards extending the war in the Far East. Only a ceasefire in Korea, the withdrawal of troops and a conference for a general peace settlement in Eastern Asia could allay that alarm.

Divisions of Strategy

It is true that there is a conflict of strategies within the war camp between the advocates of concentration on the Far East and concentration on Europe and the Middle East; and there are further cross-currents and disputes within these rival schools. It is also true that these differences are partly a reflection of the conflict of interests between American and British imperialists, who are by no means happy or harmonious partners within the

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Atlantic holdall. When Churchill at Washington begged Congress for American 'token forces' to back the British war in Egypt, as a counterpart to the obedient British backing of the American aggression in Korea, and was met with stony silence from Congress and an emphatic negative from the Administration, this Anglo-American conflict, which has been especially conspicuous in the Middle East, received public demonstration. But these divisions of strategy are *within* the war camp, like the corresponding Anglo-American conflicts of strategy during the second world war. In these divisions there is no question of a struggle between tendencies for war and tendencies for peace. When Churchill proclaimed in Parliament on January 30 his emphatic agreement with General Bradley's declaration that the concentration of the main Western forces on war in the Far East would represent 'the wrong war at the wrong place at the wrong time against the wrong enemy', he was not proclaiming his support for a more pacific policy against a more bellicose policy. On the contrary, he was thereby declaring his support for 'the right war at the right place at the right time against the right enemy'. Thus even the expression of divisions of strategy takes the form of a competition in bellicosity.

War Threats in the Far East

Hence the Atlantic War Bloc presents today a picture of rival discordant bellicose threats in all directions simultaneously. The aims of the Far Eastern school of strategy led by Foster Dulles are unconcealed:

> Mr. Dulles said during a broadcast discussion last night that *the United States must let all the Far East know that it would not stand idly by while any part of the world remained under the rule of either Communist or Fascist dictatorship.* (*The Times*, February 12, 1952.)

This is a sufficiently large programme for the overthrow of the Governments of one third of the world by armed action as the object of United States policy and the Atlantic rearmament programme. Mr. Dulles continued:

> The United States should not allow the mainland of China to remain under Chinese Communist control.

Plain enough. No nonsense about defence against aggression here. Just plain open aggression to impose Governments chosen by the United States on other countries. Let the British taxpayer take careful note of this grand war aim (for Mr. Dulles speaks with authority for American policy, as events of recent years

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have abundantly proved), when Mr. Butler calls on him to make sacrifices for rearmament in the name of 'defence'.

Definition of Aggression

A sidelight on the Atlantic war camp's definition of 'aggression' was revealed by the Burmese Government when it raised in vain before the United Nations the invasion of Burma by the American-armed and equipped Kuomintang forces under General Li. With barbed irony the Burmese delegate pleaded:

> I am heartened by the statements of the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France that Communist aggression in South East Asia will not be tolerated. But I hope that their assurance is not only in respect of Communist aggression and that it would cover any aggression from whatever source it should come.
>
> At the moment we are facing a Kuomintang aggression in the Eastern portion of Burma. Can Burma count on the support of these three countries and on the countries of my fellow delegates? Let it not be said that collective action of the United Nations is to meet Communist aggression alone.

The Burmese delegate was given his answer. In face of the admitted fact that thousands of Kuomintang, i.e. of American satellite armed forces, had invaded Burma ('One of Chiang Kai-shek's best battalions from Formosa has recently reinforced Kuomintang General Li Mi's 93rd Division in Burma . . . there is indisputable evidence that Americans are helping the 93rd Division'. *Observer*, January 20, 1952), and were further, according to the Burmese delegate, 'killing our men, taking our food, and raping our women', the United States, British and French Governments issued a solemn warning that if a single Chinese soldier, engaged in resisting the Kuomintang raids on Yunnan from their base in Burma, should be found anywhere to have crossed the Yunnan-Burmese frontier, this would be immediately regarded as an act of 'aggression' by China on Burma, and the Western Powers would immediately act *as in Korea.* No wonder the same Western Powers of the Atlantic War Bloc strenuously resisted the wish of the majority of the United Nations Assembly for a definition of aggression to be adopted (the resolution in favour of such a definition was carried against them by 28 votes to 12). The burglar deplores the attempt to define theft.

War Threats in the Middle East

Lest it be thought that bellicose threats and actions are the isolated prerogative of American representatives, it is only necessary to turn to the Middle East. Here we have not only

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had the demonstration in action at Ismailia how to make war on a country, shoot down its police forces who refuse to surrender, and bulldoze its villages without a declaration of war. We have also had the remarkably frank declarations of policy of Field Marshal Slim, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, to the Egyptian Government in Cairo in June, 1950, now revealed by the Egyptian Green Book. According to this official record the strategy of the British General Staff is based on the assumption of the certainty of war against the Soviet Union in the near future, with the Middle East as a key theatre of operations:

> The Eastern forces and the Western forces face each other; a clash may happen any time, and would result in war. (Marshal Slim).
>
> The war is closer this time than in 1936. (Mr. Chapman Andrews, British Minister in Cairo).

For this purpose British use of Egypt as a military base is essential for control of the Middle East:

> Anybody who wants to hold the Middle East must hold Egypt. . . . Egypt is the key to the Middle East. Who holds Egypt holds the Middle East. (Marshal Slim).

Therefore Britain had already by 1950 concentrated 43,000 British armed forces (in violation of the 1936 Treaty, permitting 10,000), as well as 50,000 employed Egyptian personnel in the Canal Zone, and could not consider evacuation:

> If the British troops withdraw from Egypt, it will have a disastrous effect on the cold war against Russia. (Marshal Slim).

The attitude to the wishes of the Egyptian people is also worth noting:

> Salah Eddin Bey (Egyptian Foreign Minister): The people regard British occupation as a standing fact; but the other danger is only a mere threat. They cannot be convinced that occupation should remain to repel that danger.
>
> Mr. Chapman Andrews: Do they realise that the danger of Russian occupation is worse than British occupation?
>
> Salah Eddin Bey: It is very difficult to convince the people of that.

In other words, the old Hitlerite argument of military occupation in order 'to forestall attack'. It is only necessary to add the latest statement of General Erskine:

> The British Commander in Egypt, General Erskine, declared yesterday that British troops would be kept in the Canal Zone 'for a very long time to come.' (Press, February 12, 1952).

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War Threats in Europe

Nor should the open war threats in the Far East, South East Asia and the Middle East obscure for a moment the manifest concentration on Europe as the decisive field, with the drive to force through Nazi rearmament as the key strategic calculation. Here the aim of aggression against Eastern Europe was openly proclaimed at the beginning of the year by the United States High Commissioner in Western Germany, McCloy:

> The increase in Western military and political strength will continue in 1952 and will hasten the day of liberation for all peoples living under Communist rule. (*New York Herald Tribune*, January 1, 1952).

Equally official and unmistakable was the blessing pronounced by the British Government Minister, Macmillan, together with a special message from the Foreign Secretary Eden, for the conference of the so-called 'Eastern and Central European Commission of the European Movement' held in London at the beginning of January. At this Conference the aim of the overthrow of the People's Governments in Eastern Europe and restoration of Western-controlled capitalism and reaction was openly proclaimed with the blessing of the British Government, on the same lines as in the Conservative official programme. Nor was the means to achieve this objective left in doubt as speaker after speaker forgot to use the correct official alias 'after liberation' and bluntly said 'after the war'. A Polish spokesman was frank:

> It is disturbing that there is so much talk of peace. There will be no peace until the West, by powerful political and military pressure, forces Russia to withdraw. There must be a change from the negative slogan of containment to the positive demand for liberation of our peoples.

This war call of Polish reaction was not made in a corner at an insignificant conference which could be ignored. It was made under the official blessing of the Foreign Office. And it was appropriate that at the Albert Hall demonstration which followed the conference Mosley gangs defiled before the platform, which included the Government Minister, Macmillan, and gave the Hitler salute.

New Bibles of Aggression

It is in this situation that significance attaches to the enormous publicity that has been given to two new books of the war camp, one American and one British, which have been floated with such a fanfare of official patronage as to make them equivalent to semi-

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official statements of current American and British policy. The American book is entitled *American Diplomacy 1900-1950,* and carries the authority of having been written by G. F. Kennan, the former Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department, and now Ambassador to Moscow. The British book is entitled *The Struggle For Europe,* and takes the nominal form of a narrative of the Western armies' campaigns after Dunkirk, written by a minor wartime reporter, but is in reality a political manifesto of the Munichite 'cold war' and third world war programme, re-writing the history of the second world war in terms of the present official anti-Soviet policy, prepared with the aid of official records and launched at a special ceremony presided over by the Minister for War—so that this otherwise far from intrinsically valuable book takes on a semi-official significance as a declaration of present British war policy. Between them these two books may be regarded as new versions of *Mein Kampf,* dressed up afresh for 1952.

Who Will Contain the Containers?

The theme of Mr. Kennan's book carries forward his familiar thesis, which he propounded originally as 'Mr. X' in the United State journal *Foreign Affairs* in July, 1947 (the article is reproduced in this book), to formulate in set terms, within a few months of the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine in March, 1947, the new American policy of the 'cold war,' the right of interference in the internal affairs of other countries in order to maintain anti-Soviet Governments, and the aim to build up an anti-Soviet military coalition. It was this original article which gave rise to the very damning rejoinder by Walter Lippmann in his *The Cold War: A Study in U.S. Foreign Policy,* published in 1947. This anti-Soviet war policy of the State Department was presented by Mr. Kennan under the bland title of 'containment'. When a Power is expanding and threatening the world, it is necessary to 'contain' it. How admirable. Since the United States is expanding and establishing its armed bases and bomber bases in every continent all over the world the innocent reader might expect that Mr. Kennan's aim in accordance with his professed thesis, would be directed to find an answer to the problem: How to 'contain' the United States. Not on your life.

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Back to 'Mein Kampf'

By 'containment' Mr. Kennan means that the United States should build up a world military coalition of satellite states, armed and financed by the United States, against the Soviet Union, People's Democracies and colonial liberation struggles, with a view to their ultimate overthrow and extinction. But this is an open programme for an aggressive third world war, the outraged innocent reader might exclaim. Oh dear, dear, no, explains Mr. Kennan; how you fail to catch on to my diplomatic lingo. It is only a proposal to surround the Soviet Union with overwhelming superior offensive military power at every point until—until—well, er—until the Soviet Government collapses: 'Soviet Russia might be changed overnight from one of the strongest to one of the weakest and most pitiable of national societies'. In short, back to *Mein Kampf*. Hitler had the same delusions. 'The colossal empire in the East is ripe for dissolution' wrote Hitler. 'Soviet power bears within it the seeds of its own decay', writes Mr. Kennan. Will they never learn? Hitler had at least the excuse that the strength of fully developed socialism in the Soviet Union to defend itself had not yet been tested. This excuse is denied to Mr. Kennan. History has answered his question before he has posed it. Thus Mr. Kennan falls below the level even of Hitler. Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad.

Sacro Egoismo

In his new book Mr. Kennan directs himself to the problem: how to draw the masses of American people, who were brought up to liberal, democratic and pacific conceptions, to accept the new cynical aggressive Hitlerite outlook which the present policy of American imperialism requires. With the police aspect of this problem Mr. Kennan does not concern himself; the F.B.I. and the Committee for Un-American Activities are dealing with that. Mr. Kennan is concerned to destroy the roots of any surviving liberal, progressive or civilised outlook in international affairs. For this purpose half a century of American policy is reviewed. In this survey President Wilson and President Roosevelt become the enemy—the awful warnings of what to avoid. The enemy is any conception of morality in international affairs. The enemy is any respect for international law.

Instead of making ourselves slaves of the concepts of international law and morality, we would confine these concepts to the unobtrusive,

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almost feminine, function of the gentle civiliser of national self-interest. (p.54).

I see *the most serious fault* of our past policy formulation to lie in something that I might call *the legalistic-moralistic* approach to international problems. (p. 95).

In opposition to abstract 'legalistic-moralistic' formulas, he does not counterpose the alternative of true internationalism, based on respect for the right of self-determination of all nations and the aim of international co-operation and collective maintenance of peace. For him the alternative and the ideal is the 'national self-interest' of American imperialism as the sole arbiter in questions of international policy:

Our own national interest is all that we are really capable of knowing and understanding. (p. 103).

In short, *sacro egoismo*. We have heard all these 'philosophical' apologias for gangsterism long ago from Mussolini.

Re-Writing History

Mr. Chester Wilmot's book is of a lower calibre than Mr. Kennan's—as the cheapjack sales promotion campaign around it has indicated, including the comic drum-beating publisher's blurb on the cover to describe it as 'the most important book yet written about World War II' (distinctly *lèse-majesté* to Mr. Churchill). Like Mr. Kennan's book it takes on a pseudo-historical form to cover a very pragmatic political purpose—the propaganda for a third world war. It is an amusing example of the Western 'idealist' school of history, according to which there is no such thing as objective historical reality, but only an ever-changing subjective and selective picture to suit the current interests of the ruling clique. Just as in the heyday of Queen Victoria, when Britain was backing the rise of Prussia, and France was the traditional enemy, the Germanic origins of British institutions and civilisation dominated official history, until the twentieth century and the *Entente* brought back the Latin origins to favour, so with the treatment of the second world war and the Soviet Union. During the war the Soviet Union, after being execrated as 'the monster' in relation to Finland, became the 'gallant ally' whose armies 'tore the guts out of the Nazi armies'. Now the wheel turns again, and it becomes necessary to prove that the Soviet Union was always the real enemy, also during the war; the role of the Soviet armies becomes dim and remote (the Index devotes 159 lines to the British Army, 156 lines to the German

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Army, 134 lines to the United States Army—and seven lines to the 'Russian Army'); the required thesis must prove that the Western armies won the war, but gave away the fruits of victory to the Soviet Union through the ineptitude of the politicians; that the British Government's policy of Churchill was always really anti-Soviet, even under the professions of friendship, and that the correct British anti-Soviet policy of Mr. Churchill was only thwarted by the imbecility of President Roosevelt, his anti-British suspicions and pro-Soviet sympathies. Hence all these tears, the justification of Mr. Churchill and the divine mission of the Atlantic Pact. Mr. Wilmot faithfully carries out his brief.

Munich Re-Hash

All this is a very stale story of the old Munichite line and its continuance in adapted forms during the war and after. But to Mr. Wilmot it appears to be a dazzling new revelation. Moore-Brabazon could have told him all about it long ago; but he discreetly omits to quote Moore-Brabazon. Since the book is stated to have been written over a number of years, with the aid of official military records, it appears likely that what was originally intended as only a sectional military record has received a political palimpsest in relation to current requirements. It is not a book 'about World War II', as the publishers claim. Its groundwork is a painstaking military narrative of campaigns on some of the fronts during the war in which Anglo-American armies were engaged. Although these fronts were in general secondary to the main campaigns of the war, their military record could be a laudable and useful task. But this military record is overlaid by political moralising; and here the author enters a field where he is obviously less familiar with the background and incredibly naïve. It is obvious that a serious review of the *politics* of the second world war, if the author had wished to devote himself to this subject, would have required to begin at any rate from Munich, and not from the outcome of Munich, Dunkirk. But the author shows no sign of awareness of this. He has steeped himself in the Nazi documents and records (even to such an extent that in referring to the Morgenthau Plan he comments that 'Morgenthau was a Jew' and 'the Germans knew they had no right to expect mercy from *the race* which, etc.', p. 549). But he shows no knowledge of the international situation.

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Military Myopia

The political distortion inevitably turns even the military record into military myopia. This lack of balance is already visible even in the otherwise straightforward record of the Battle of Britain, where he ignores the fact that Hitler was prevented from throwing in the full weight of his air force because of the massing of Soviet air forces on his eastern frontier, although Hitler himself subsequently stated that this was the decisive factor which prevented him from gaining air superiority in 1940 and therefore governed his decision to enter on the final gamble of the offensive against the Soviet Union as his only hope of victory. This inter-relation is obviously of key significance in understanding the line of development of the war. But to the author Hitler's offensive on the Soviet Union remains an inexplicable 'miscalculation'. This lack of balance becomes comically grotesque in the subsequent apportionment of weight of the Western and Eastern Fronts. Anxious, from the height of his present superior anti-Soviet wisdom to lecture the Allied, and especially the American, statesmen and commanders for their supposed failure to develop an anti-Soviet strategy during the war, he shows no sign of realising that the Anglo-American armies were only landed in the West in 1944, *after* the previous strategy of endeavouring to bleed the Soviet Union to death through Hitler's armies had ended in complete fiasco, *after* the Soviet armies had already inflicted decisive defeat on the Nazi armies and demonstrated that they were capable alone to liberate the whole of Europe, and *in order* to prevent the victory of popular liberation throughout Europe, which would otherwise have taken place. In the view of this author the liberation of Eastern Europe by the Soviet armies was only due to the political ineptitude of President Roosevelt. This childishness is below the level of discussion. The political argumentation of the book is only of value because it admits and sets down explicitly for the first time in a semi-official record the essentially anti-Soviet character of Churchill's strategy throughout the second world war.

The Battle is Rising

The fact that such books of cynical and shameless contempt for all the aims for which the peoples fought in the war of anti-fascist liberation, and of unconcealed anti-Soviet warmongering incitement, can now appear and be pressed on the public with

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high official patronage, is a sign of the times. But it does not mean that the path of the planners of a third world war is a smooth path—least of all in Britain. New political currents are rising. In France and in Germany the fight against Nazi rearmament is gaining new strength, and the war plans of Rome, which were postponed to Lisbon, may still have to be further postponed. In Britain the popular ferment against the Tory Government and its offensive on the living standards of the people is sharpened by the effects of the new Butler cuts and the threats of the Budget. For the first time, especially with the widespread alarm over the openly aggressive American war threats in the Far East, the fight on the home front is beginning to broaden out into a fight against the rearmament and war policy of the Government. This ferment is finding its reflection in the new stirrings in the Parliamentary Labour Party, which led to the tabling for the first time of a resolution to divide the House on foreign policy. The resolution was a 'compromise' resolution which still accepted the basic policy of the rearmament programme and the Atlantic War Bloc, while criticising Churchill's role at Washington. But it was a symptom of the new demands and pressures. The 'compromise' straddle between support of the Tory war policy and the demand for an alternative policy cannot be long maintained. To fight the cuts and economic worsening, it is essential to fight the rearmament and war policy which is the main immediate factor in causing them. This is becoming more and more plain to increasing sections in the Labour movement and beyond. The way is opening out for bold and active initiative of the Left to transform the political situation in Britain.

February 15, 1952. R.P.D.

The Editor of LABOUR MONTHLY *will be very glad to receive contributions in the form of finished articles or of suggestions and data for articles. The customary proviso must be made that no responsibility is undertaken for manuscripts sent to him, nor can he promise to enter into correspondence regarding contributions not accepted.*

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STORM WARNING FOR TRADE UNIONISTS

WAL HANNINGTON

WE have reached a most critical position in the history of the British trade union movement; a position where the national leadership—with a few honourable exceptions—is striving to use the movement as a force *for* reaction instead of *against*. This can be seen in the official attitude towards (i) the present Tory Government, and (ii) the war danger against the Soviet Union, China and the new Democratic Socialist Republics of Eastern Europe. The official British trade union leadership, in the main, has seldom in the last half century been the initiator of militant struggles, but they have frequently been impelled by pressure from the membership to accept the responsibility of leadership and go forward into industrial battles against the employing class and its governments.

Throughout the nineteenth century there is much more evidence of the official leadership being prepared actually to initiate and lead the industrial struggles, yet at the same time the predominating attitude was one of opposition to any policy of challenging in principle the capitalist order of society; this attitude was expressed in the motto inscribed on so many old trade union banners, 'Defence, Not Defiance'. Consequently the Socialist pioneers were denounced, abused and misrepresented by the chief office-holders of the unions in much the same way as the Communists are treated today. But Socialist ideas persisted and found an increasing number of adherents amongst the working class. The fundamental teachings of Marx and Engels gave conviction and guidance to the Socialist movement and inspired its development. It began to find expression within the trade unions, and during the past half-century since the Labour Party was formed, the trade union movement has increasingly identified itself with Socialist objectives; today, on the banners of many unions we can see the slogan, 'Workers' Control of Industry'.

This does not mean that there has been a steady development of true Socialist principles on the part of the official trade union leadership; on the contrary, as a body they have in fact deflected the movement into the political *cul-de-sac* of capitalist State

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Nationalisation and sought to deceive the workers into believing that this is Socialism. But with all their shortcomings on the political field, the official union leadership up to six years ago always did accept as a fundamental duty the defence of the living standards and working conditions of their union members against attacks by the employers or their Government. With the advent of the Labour Government in 1945 and its subsequent repeated betrayals of Socialist principles, we witnessed a steady departure by the official trade union leadership from that historic role of defence. In this respect I wish to make it clear that I am not referring to individual leaders or a limited number of union Executives who have acted otherwise, but to the Right-wing officials who dominate the majority of the unions and the T.U.C. General Council.

As the Labour Government committed one act after another against the interests of the workers, so we found this Right-wing trade union leadership steadily acquiescing. On issues which in the past had always provoked strong opposition from even the Right-wing leadership we now found no resistance whatever coming from that quarter. Denial of the right to strike by continuing the wartime regulation of Arbitration Order 1305; the arrest and trial of trade unionists for defying that Order; the use of troops to break industrial disputes; the sacking of workers in government employment because of their Communist opinions; the formation of a special squad at Scotland Yard under M.I.5 for spy activity in the trade unions and the factories; the banning of the traditional May Day demonstration in London: these and many more acts against the rights and liberties of the workers met with no resistance from the official Right-wing trade union leadership.

When the Labour Government embarked on the ruinous arms programme and consequently followed with attacks on the living standards of the workers by increased taxation, cuts in the Health services and in Education and Housing, again there was no resistance from that trade union leadership. When the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer demanded that the wages of the workers should remain stationary in a period of rapidly rising prices and unprecedented profits in industry, the T.U.C. leadership obliged by declaring its support for a policy of 'wage-freezing'. In all this we see the retreat of the leadership from the traditional policy of defending the workers' liberties and standards. That the workers

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fought back and achieved successes is certainly not attributable to any inspiring call to action from the official trade union leadership; on the contrary, they often found themselves compelled to ward off the dead hand of officialdom before they could get to grips with their attackers. Loyalty to the Labour Government became the alibi for this official inertia and there were many workers ready to excuse such conduct on those grounds. They believed that should the political control of the country pass from Labour to Tory then quite a different attitude would be shown by these trade union officials.

But what do we find? The establishment of the Tory Government was not met with a stirring challenge from the T.U.C. but with a declaration from the General Council that they are 'ready to work amicably with the new Government'. How is it possible for those who hold responsibility of leadership in the trade union movement to speak in such terms about a Government which is based upon a Party that is recognised by the workers as their traditional class enemy? I think it means that we have reached a new low level in the character and policy of the Right-wing leadership.

The very first public pronouncement of Churchill following the General Election could leave no doubt about the prospects of attacks on living standards and the liberties of the working class and the risk of being plunged into war. But 'all is quiet' on the T.U.C. General Council front! In fact, far from any resistance from that quarter we find collaboration in the war plans. How else can one interpret the agreement of the T.U.C. representatives with the Tory Government's proposal to reintroduce the wartime 'control of engagement' Order for the direction of labour into the arms industry? Two days later the General Council underline their act of collaboration by issuing a call to affiliated unions to reject an invitation to be represented at an International Economic Conference in Moscow to find ways of facilitating peaceful co-operation between countries with different social systems. The T.U.C. Press statement on this ban declares that the conference is being held to 'further the purposes of the World Peace campaign'. What a disgraceful position it is for the T.U.C. leadership to find an alliance with the enemies of peace and to condone the preparations for a new world war—this time against the Socialist sector of the world! The shocking deterioration in the character and policy of this leadership is clearly revealed when we compare the present position with that of 1919-20.

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In 1919 the Lloyd George Government was carrying out a policy of armed intervention against the new Soviet Republic without any formal declaration of war. Churchill, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was boasting of the amount of money that he was spending financing and equipping the armies of Tzarist generals in their counter-revolutionary war to overthrow the Republic. But the spirit of international working-class solidarity was strong in Britain, and the workers understood that the overthrow of the Soviet Government in Russia would also amount to a defeat of the Socialist and working-class movement throughout the world. Even Mr. Herbert Morrison understood this at that time, and addressing the annual Labour Party Conference in June, 1919, he said:

> They had got to realise that the present war against Russia on the part of this country, France and other imperialist powers, was not war against Bolshevism or against Lenin, but against the international organisation of Socialism. It was a war against the organisation of the trade union movement itself, and as such should be resisted with the full political and industrial power of the whole trade union movement.

By 1,893,000 votes to 935,000 a resolution was carried demanding an immediate end to British intervention.

A powerful mass agitation swept the country, but the British Government continued to support the counter-revolutionary forces. In the spring of 1920 the army of reactionary Poland invaded the Ukraine and British ships laden with munitions were being dispatched to them. On May 10 the London dockers struck work in protest. A week later a national conference of the dockers' union decided on a national ban against loading munitions for use against Russia. Ernest Bevin supported this decision. By middle July the Poles were in headlong retreat before the Red Army. Faced with the defeat of its puppets, the British Government took another desperate step. On July 21 the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that they were considering an open declaration of war against Russia. On August 3 the Foreign Minister sent a note to the Soviet Government which was tantamount to a declaration of war.

The British trade union and Labour movement immediately sprang into action in defence of the Russian Workers' Republic. Thousands of protest resolutions poured into the Government, and on the following day, Sunday, August 8, mighty demonstrations under trades council auspices were held in every town. The next day a special joint meeting of the T.U.C. leadership and the

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Labour Party E.C. was held and unanimously decided to inform the Government that *'the whole industrial power of the organised workers will be used to defeat this war'*. They formed themselves into a National Council of Action and the Executives of all the Unions were called to a special national conference which met on August 13 in the Central Hall, Westminster. This conference by resolution *'pledged itself to resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet Government of Russia'*. It mandated the National Council of Action to remain in being until it had secured full recognition of the Soviet Government, and it authorised the Council *'to call for any and every form of withdrawal of labour which circumstance may require to give effect to the foregoing policy'*. Local Councils of Action were quickly formed in all the industrial centres and the working class was ready for action if the Government dared to carry out its threat of war. But strike action did not become necessary—the Government understood the determination of the British workers to defend the Soviet Republic, and withdrew their war plans.

That is how peace was saved in 1920. In this present serious war danger the trade union movement must live up to its splendid tradition and show that it is ready to act again to stop the Tory Government plunging us into war. The membership of the trade unions should now be demanding that the official leadership repudiate any policy of collaboration with the Tory Government and that they show the same readiness to protect the interests of the members and safeguard the peace of the world as the leadership did thirty-two years ago.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

THE MINERS' FIGHT

The miners fight is not over; it is becoming more bitter than ever. The miners must build up a better machine of struggle, and prepare for its effective utilisation. The big struggles of the near future will be class struggles affecting the whole mass of Britain's workers. Therefore we must work harder than ever to bring the workers of all industries at home and abroad together around a programme of common struggle for agreed demands and mutual protection. To do this we must have an all-inclusive working-class organisation capable of effective fighting. The Trades Union Congress must become the framework of this machine, and men possessing a greater degree of class loyalty must be charged with its direction.

From *The Need for One Mineworkers' Union*,
by Arthur Horner, March, 1927.

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ASYLUM—1852 and 1952

From *The Times*, Monday, February 9, 1852.

(The British right of asylum to foreign political refugees had been formally challenged by Austria, Prussia, Russia and even France. Lord Granville replied:—)

'By the existing law of Great Britain all foreigners have the unrestricted right of entrance and residence in this country; and while they remain in it, are, equally with British subjects, under the protection of the law; nor can they be punished except for an offence against the law, and under the sentence of the ordinary tribunals of justice, after a public trial, and on a conviction founded on evidence given in open court. No foreigners, as such, can be sent out of this country by the executive Government, except perhaps persons removed by virtue of treaties with other States, confirmed by Act of Parliament, for the mutual surrender of criminal offenders. . . .

'The general hospitality thus extended by our institutions to all who may choose to come to England has from time to time been the means of affording a secure asylum to political refugees of all parties, many of them illustrious in rank and position. Among them may be mentioned kings and princes of the two branches of the Bourbon family and the Prime Ministers of France and Austria.

'It is obvious that this hospitality could not be so freely given if it were not widely extended. If a discretionary power of removing foreigners were vested in the Crown, appeals would be constantly made by the dominant party in foreign countries for the expulsion of their political opponents. . . .'

The monarchs referred to as having received hospitality in this country were Louis XVIII, Charles X, and Louis Philippe. The Prime Ministers Guizot and Metternich; Louis Napoleon (not then either President or Emperor) had been a refugee three times.

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INDIAN ELECTIONS

D. K. BOSE

AT the time of going to press, not all the results in the current Indian elections are available. But the picture which has already emerged shows unmistakably the tremendous advance of the popular democratic front against the ruling régime of reaction represented by Congress.

The present undemocratic electoral system based on the English model of single-member constituencies has given the Congress majorities in all but four States and a clear majority in the Central Parliament (the House of the People). But the voting shows that even in those States where Congress has secured a majority, *they have not secured a majority of the total votes cast.* (Incidentally, the basis of representation to the State legislature is one representative per 75,000 population, whereas for the Central legislature it is one representative per 500,000 to 750,000 population.)

Thus in Bombay State, where the Congress has secured more than 80 per cent of the seats, less than half of the electorate cast their votes for the Congress. In West Bengal, on the basis of 181 results declared so far, while the Congress has secured 2,140,304 votes, the non-Congress votes amount to 3,283,375. Of these a mere 493,185 votes were secured by communal and other reactionary organisations, so that the total combined Left vote amounts to 2,790,190, or a little more than the total Congress vote. Yet, of the 181 seats, only about 40 seats have gone to the Left. There is no doubt that the same picture could be even further emphasised on the basis of election results in Madras Presidency, Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin, where Congress has lost heavily to the united front of Left parties.

But this is not the whole story of this 'fair and free' election. These elections were held under conditions which have no parallel in any country that claims to be democratic. The Communist Party of India which everyone, including the *Sunday Times, Observer* or the *Economist,* not to mention the *New Statesman and Nation,* admits today is the strongest opposition party in the country, fought the elections with its units in Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad banned, with thousands of its workers in prison,

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with warrants of arrest pending against some of its foremost leaders and in certain cases even against the candidate himself. Especially significant is the case of two elected representatives, Ramamurthy and Achuta Menon, who were promptly rearrested after they were elected, as they had to be released on parole earlier in order to enable them to participate in the elections. There are other instances where a candidate has been elected while himself in detention and not yet released. Thus Ravi Narayan Reddi, the leader of the Telengana peasants' struggle (with which the readers of *Labour Monthly* are well acquainted) was elected to the Central Parliament from Nalgonda with 309,162 votes against 96,837 of the Congress, while he was released from detention hardly a fortnight before the polling day.

Premier Nehru has declared in the course of his election tours that Hyderabad was to be the test case. He was mainly referring to Telengana, where the Congress had been engaged in its 'liberating' mission for the last three years, with the aid of batons and bullets, and its agrarian programme of reinstating the landlords in an area where the peasants had distributed one million acres among themselves. In the whole of this Telengana area, the People's Democratic Front (P.D.F.) contested 46 out of about 90 seats. It has won 37 of these 46 seats and could easily have won more, but the prevailing terror, wholesale arrests and warrants of arrests made it impossible for the P.D.F. to contest more seats. In the two districts of Nalgonda and Warrangal, storm centres of the Telengana struggle, the P.D.F. has secured approximately 600,000 votes as against 200,000 of the Congress. For the Central Parliament the P.D.F. contested eight seats from Telengana, of which it has already won six with the certainty of winning another. The achievement of such striking results under these conditions of severe repression is evidence that the real strength of mass support is very much greater than the figures reveal.

Another interesting sidelight of this election is the debacle of the 'Socialist' Party, the official exponent of the 'third force' conception in India. True to their counterpart in this country, they refused to enter into any united front with the Communist and other Left parties, thus paving the way for the Congress victory in many cases. In Bombay, their stronghold, the Socialist Party successfully split the democratic votes, leading to the 80 per cent

* See "Oppression in India," by D. N. Pritt, Q.C., in July, 1950, and Reddi's letter printed in the *L.M.* issue of May, 1951.

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victory of the Congress. In Telengana, however, all their candidates have forfeited their deposits. In Travancore-Cochin, where they have secured 12 seats as against 37 of the Left United Front (in a House of 108), it will be interesting to observe whether their anti-Communism leads them to a 'united front' with the Congress, in which contingency alone a Congress Government is possible in this State.

All democrats and all patriots and friends of India abroad will demand that the verdict of the people must be carried out, and that all democratic political parties should be given full facilities to function unhampered by any restrictions. It is essential that there should be legalisation of the Communist Party in Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin and withdrawal of the warrants against and release of all its workers. The victory of the democratic forces in the Indian elections has strengthened the cause of Peace and Democracy all over the world. It is yet another nail in the coffin of the warmongers who fondly dreamed of making India a base of operation against the glorious Chinese and Soviet Peoples.

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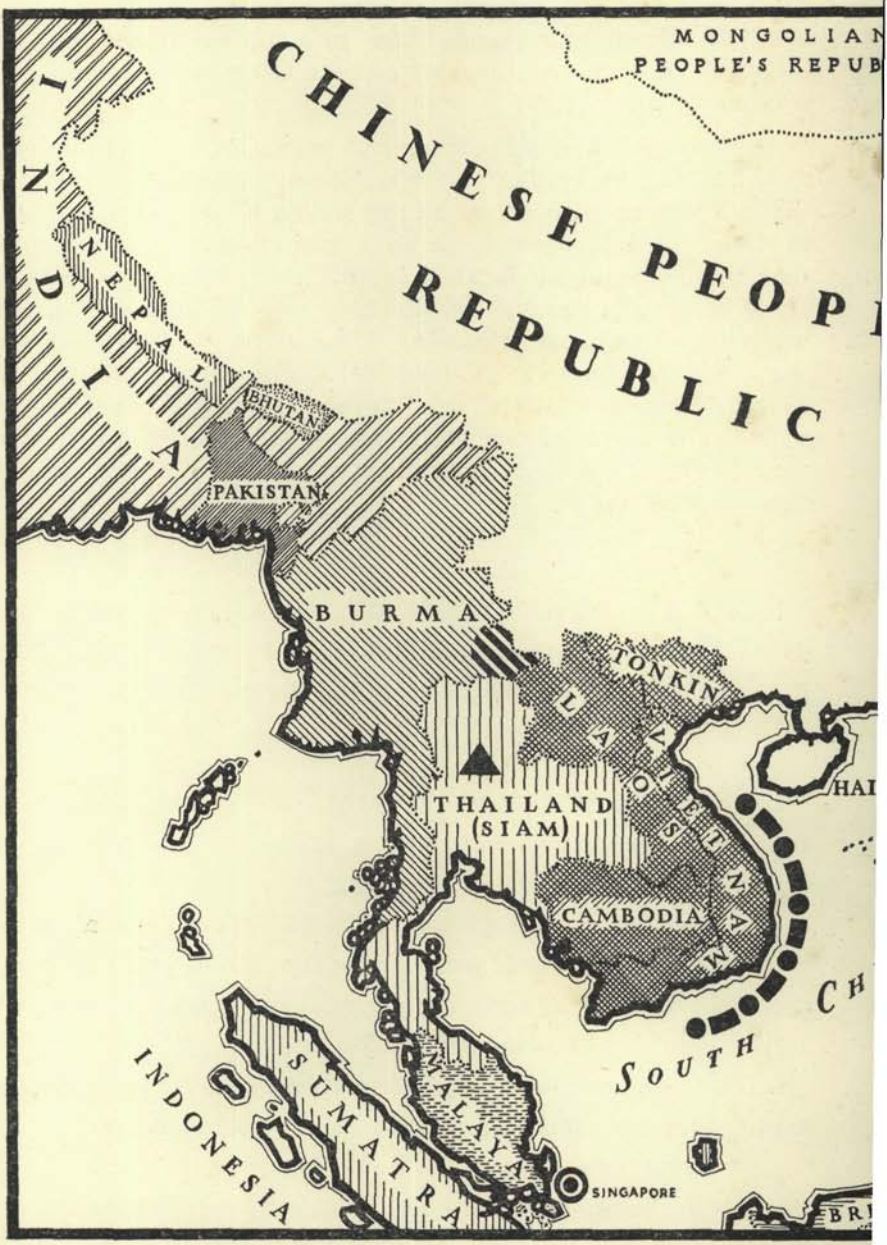
SOUTH-EAST ASIA



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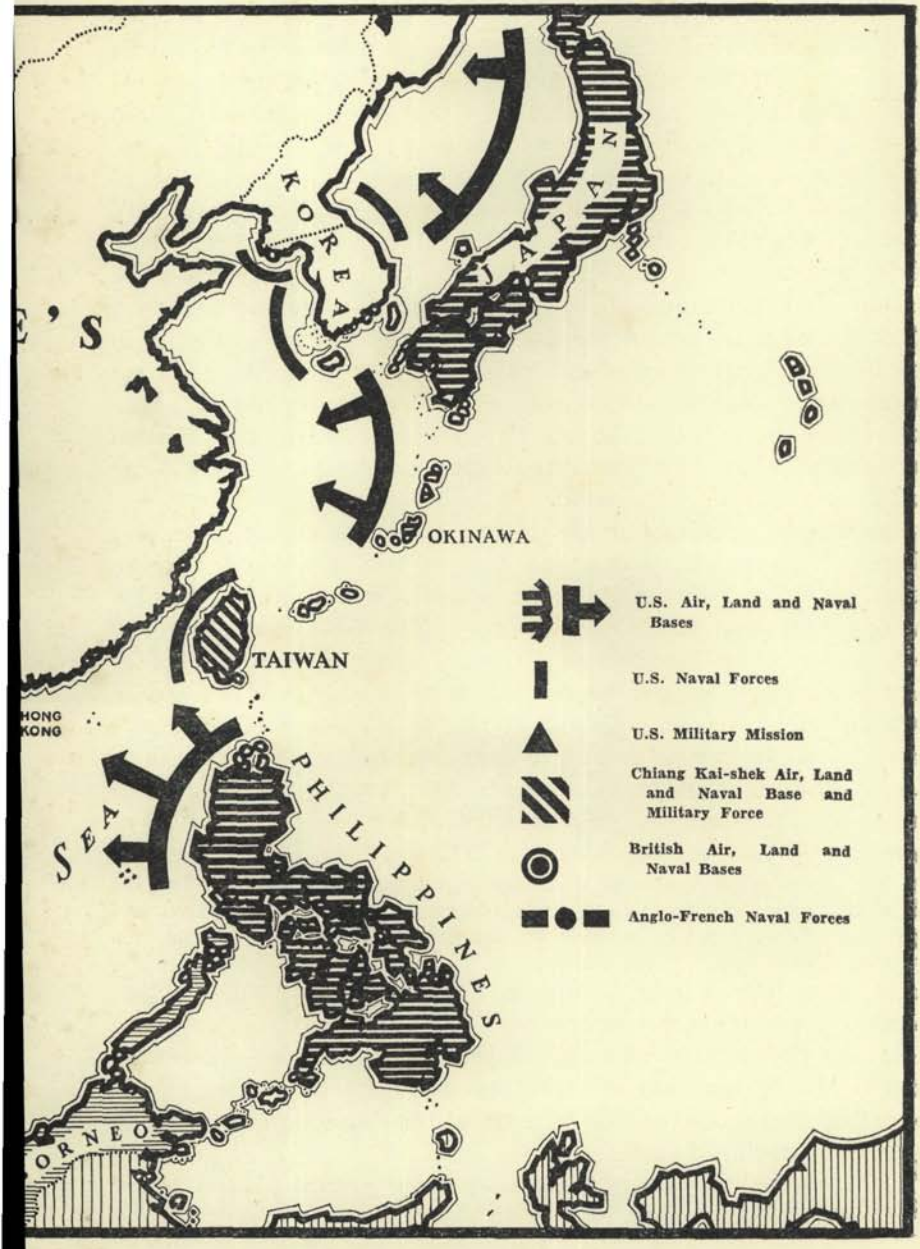
ND THE FAR EAST



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PLOTTING WAR ON CHINA

ARTHUR CLEGG

MR. JOHN FOSTER DULLES, special adviser to President Truman, the State Department and to the political General Eisenhower, recently declared that the purpose of United States policy in the Far East was to overthrow People's China. There is no way to do this except by aggressive war, and, just to make sure his meaning was understood, Mr. Dulles specifically attacked the idea that the United States should follow a 'defensive policy' in the Far East. Mr. Dulles' key words were 'action' and 'determination'. Mr. Dulles is no obscure occupant of some isolated room in the State Department. He is the main architect of America's present Far Eastern policy. He drew up the so-called Japanese 'Peace Treaty' to allow the remilitarisation of Japan. He arranged the doublecross of the British Parliament on the question of the Japanese recognition of Chiang Kai-shek.

Nor was he speaking in the heat of the moment or from any whim. He was addressing the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee and in chosen words persuading it to pass the so-called Japanese 'Peace Treaty'. *The Times* was evidently so horrified at his remarks that it was nearly a fortnight before they reported his actual words. Then its Washington correspondent admitted that 'As he was speaking on behalf of the State Department, he can be presumed also to have been speaking with their approval'. In his statement, after urging his Senatorial audience to 'assume the impermanence, not the permanence, of the present Moscow-orientated rule in China', Mr. Dulles went on:

> We cannot expect change in China to take place automatically. To realize such a change will require something besides a negative and purely defensive policy in Asia on the part of the leaders of the free world, notably the United States.

Such a policy would 'require determination' and 'action consistent with that determination'.

Having defined the strategic objective of his 'not defensive' policy, Mr. Dulles was no less precise upon the tactics to be followed. As quoted by the bulletin of the American Embassy in London he declared that:

> *It is, however, necessary to consolidate our present position before we move on.*

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And he went on to demand the ratification of the Japanese Peace Treaty, which he pointed out would not only allow the remilitarisation of Japan but permit the Japanese Government, with American assistance, to make atom bombs, as part of that 'consolidation before moving on'. Though American policy, especially in the Far East, has long been aggressive, never before has a leading member of the administration been so open about its aims, purposes and methods.

Mr. Dulles' deeds conform to his words. In December last he went again to Japan and secured from Yoshida (Mr. 'No Reform' Yoshida) a written pledge to recognise Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa. Yoshida's letter stated:

> My Government is prepared as soon as legally possible to conclude with the National Government of China (i.e. Chiang Kai-shek), if that government so desires, a treaty which will establish normal relations between the two governments in conformity with the principles set out in the mutilated treaty of peace. The terms of such bilateral treaty shall, in respect of the Republic of China, be applicable to all territories which are now, *or which may hereafter be*, under the control of the National Government of the Republic of China.

This letter was dated December 24, 1951, but it was kept secret for a month and the British Foreign Office was not informed of it by the American Government. They heard of it from the Japanese Government the day before it was published in Tokyo. In Tokyo it was said that the State Department ordered publication because, when the letter was shown to Mr. Churchill during his talks with Mr. Truman, he gave it 'tacit' approval by demurring in such mild terms that the State Department took it they were being told to go ahead. Socialist members of the Japanese Diet have affirmed that the pledge was extracted from Yoshida under pressure, such as Mr. Dulles' declaration (made a month before Mr. Churchill went to Washington) that the British Government were going to change their policy towards Formosa. Mr. Yoshida in the Diet on January 25 did not deny this and indicated that in fact the idea of the letter was Mr. Dulles', not his. These methods of coercion were used despite the promise to the British House of Commons, made by the President of the Board of Trade to the House on November 26, that no pressure would be used on the Japanese Government to decide in one way or the other its relations with China.

Commenting on the Yoshida-Dulles exchange, the Central People's Government of China on January 22 issued a statement signed by Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, saying:

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> We consider this letter ironclad evidence of the collusion of the reactionary government of a defeated Japan with American imperialism in preparing a new and aggressive war against the people and the territory of China . . . No one can fail to understand that the United States imperialist government is now linking up, through an utterly illegal 'peace treaty', the Japanese reactionary government it has fostered with the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique in Taiwan, seeking thus to create a military threat to the People's Republic of China, and in this way to prepare a new war of aggression in the Far East.

He warned Britain that association with this policy was dragging the British people and the peoples within the orbit of the British Empire step by step into the abyss of war.

Carrying the Dulles policy a step further, when the Japanese Diet met at the end of February, the Yoshida Government announced that it proposed to increase the Japanese Imperial Army (now euphemistically called the 'National Police Reserve') from 75,000 to 110,000, and the navy by one third, and would table a 'Public Security Bill', to make illegal any dissent from policies of aggression.

For South-east Asia, the policy of 'consolidating and then moving on' took, during the Truman-Churchill conversations, the form of top-level military talks between America, Britain, France and the Dominions. It has now come to this, so far as the French and British wars in Indo-China and Malaya are concerned, that their chief generals and admirals are now summoned to Washington to give account to the Pentagon on their military conduct. The warlords of Washington destine South-east Asia, despite Anglo-French wriggling, to become an American war base, an American sphere of exploitation. In 1951 joint military conferences on the area were still held in Singapore: now they are held in Washington. The war plans are being made—and every now and then some leading member of the American war party comes out in the open with some part of them. In the same week as Mr. Dulles spoke, Mr. Kimball, Secretary for Navy, said in Milwaukee (January 24):

> We are not going to fight the next war in the United States. We are going to fight it somewhere else, and it will be up to the Navy to take the Army, the Air Force and the Marines to their new positions.

Mr. Kimball was speaking about the Far East and, as not even he expects almost navyless China to fight in the United States, his meaning was made quite clear. A few hours later, Admiral Fechteler, Chief of Naval Operations, said in Washington that if

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the Korean truce talks break down (and the American Government has been discussing, as *Time* magazine admitted openly on February 4, just what issue it should choose to make them break down.—A.C.) :

> The Navy is prepared to broaden the scope of its operations to the extent of its capabilities as the Government desires . . . We have the capability of blockading the coast of China.

Such naval operations would include the bombing of Chinese cities by American carrier-based planes. American intentions have thus been proclaimed by leading members of the administration in a way which none can fail to understand.

Now in a broadcast, Mr. Dulles has come out into the open, saying that the United States 'should not allow the mainland of China to remain under Chinese Communist control' and that 'we should change the character of the régime on the mainland'. (February 10.) How is this to be done? The presidential candidate, Taft, suggests the answer in an interview three days later when, according to *The Times,* he said that 'there was no alternative to all-out war with Communist China if the truce talks in Korea failed'.

> He also advocated the invasion of the Chinese mainland by Chinese Nationalist forces from Formosa, saying that this was the only way to prevent a Communist assault in South-West Asia. (*The Times*, 14.2.52).

The other would-be president, Harold Stassen, took the same attitude for war upon China, for the use of Chiang Kai-shek's troops 'immediately', and for restoration of General MacArthur as Commander in the Far East. Thus both Democratic and Republican chiefs are accomplices in this plotting of war upon China.

In his address to Congress, Mr. Churchill, with his talk of 'prompt, resolute and effective' action and his praise for the American seizure of Formosa (key position for a naval blockade of China), carefully played up to these war plans. It is in vain for Eden to plead in the Commons that nothing like these proclamations of intended war on China were heard in the Washington talks. Were all the assembled generals and admirals and airmen just rushed across the Atlantic for a gossip over a cup of tea ?

But between the planning of war and the plunging into it there is a gulf which resolute men and women in this and all lands can make impassible. The Japanese warlords could not defeat weak China in 1937. Today China is immeasurably stronger. A blockade would be militarily futile, bombing would invite

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reprisals, a military landing in China would invite an even greater military disaster than Korea has been. And with China are all the peoples of Asia and Africa, longing to be free from the fetters of imperialism and the menace of war bases on their territory. In addition, tipping the scales in favour of peace, especially in Britain, is the rising demand—'No war with China'.

The way out is always at hand. At the moment of crisis the Koreans and Chinese proposed—at the truce talks in Korea—that within three months of the conclusion of an armistice a joint commission of five representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China should meet with five representatives from the American side to work out both a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, including the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and of related Far Easern questions. Here, in discussions which for the first time bring representatives of the United States to meet as equals those of the People's Republic of China is the escape from Mr. Dulles' road to destruction. They could pave the way to still wider talks of peaceful solutions of world problems

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PERIODICAL

Democratic German Report. No. 1. Editor: John Peet, Friedrichstrasse 167/III, Berlin 8. 8 pp. 8s. p.a.

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WHOSE CRISIS?

RICHARD BRIGHT

THE Tory Government, the bankers, the Press shout on every side that Britain is on the brink of ruin and that to escape the disasters that threaten, the people of Britain must submit to drastically reduced standards of living, capital cuts, cuts in social services, cuts in food, cuts in consumption of every sort. Experience has before now taught the working class that reduction of living standards is the capitalist cure-all for economic ills; and the working class correctly sees in the attacks now being made on the British people, not a solution to Britain's economic difficulties, but a defence of narrow capitalist interests. In such a situation the fight against the Tory policies within and without the Labour movement demands a full knowledge of the underlying facts.

The immediate crisis appears as a crisis of foreign trade and the balance of payments. It consists in the fact that the costs of imports have been exceeding receipts from exports, overseas investments and other payments from abroad and at a rate that gives, for the full year of 1951, a *net* deficit of well over £500 million as against a credit balance in 1950 of £221 million. The difficulties of the British imperialists are aggravated by similar trade deficits in other sterling area countries. Previously the sterling area reserves, which the British imperialists control, have benefited from export surpluses in other sterling area countries. Britain, it should be noted, faces this 'crisis' *at a time when the volume of its exports is increasing.* In 1951 the volume of exports was 3 per cent higher than in 1950, despite a falling off in textile exports, and in value an increase of 19 per cent. The volume of imports, on the other hand, rose by 15 per cent. This was due to increased imports of raw materials and manufactured goods, and the total value of imported raw materials increased by 72 per cent. The biggest increases were timber, petroleum, rubber, wood-pulp and non-ferrous metals.

The story that these figures tell is clear. *The immediate cause of the present trade crisis is the huge quantity of high priced imports for arms production.* The crisis which the Tories attribute to the extravagance of their predecessors is in fact

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attributable to the extravagances of the arms programme. To what else could it be attributed? The living standards were lower, not higher, in 1951 than in 1950. Social service expenditure on buildings and equipment (i.e. raw material consuming expenditure) was cut to the bone. There was no vast expenditure on capital equipment for industry in 1951. The extravagance that immediately precipitated the crisis was and could be nothing but the arms programme. Did the Tories oppose that when they were in opposition? Of course they did not. Are they cutting it out now? Of course they are not. Their pretence that they do not bear responsibility for the hardships they are now imposing on the British people is a dirty piece of political dishonesty.

The £4,700 million arms programme is beyond all question the *immediate* cause of the crisis; but there are also more deep-seated causes. Not only is British imperialism caught in the process of disintegration that afflicts the whole capitalist world in the period of its general crisis; British imperialism is in addition immeasurably weakened relatively to America. Whereas in the 19th century British capitalism dominated the world, today it is American capitalism that dominates the capitalist world, and the disparity in economic strength tremendously increased as a result of the Second World War. This even the Tories recognise. Butler himself in his speech in the House of Commons on 29th January said:

> . . . It is the harsh truth that our economic position in the world has been deteriorating for about half a century.

The *Financial Times* leader on 28th January wrote:

> Though rearmament has aggravated the crisis now, the real cause lies deeper than this. The sterling area countries have not expanded production on anything like the scale of expansion in the dollar area. Not only in industrial capacity but in the supply of raw materials also the productive potential of the dollar area has risen faster than that of the sterling area.

This uneven development in the capitalist world finds very concrete expression in the movement of world prices under the influence of American imperialism against Britain. At the present time British export prices are three times as high as in 1938, whereas import prices are four and a half times as high. Sterling prices for raw materials are high because for most raw materials today the market is made not in Britain but in the U.S.A.; and as a result of the devaluation which American imperialism forced

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upon British imperialism, it costs a lot more of pounds sterling to buy materials at their dollar prices. During this past year their policy of increasing the price of their raw materials at the expense of the 'British' materials has been successful. (Here the various international agencies for co-ordinating the arms production of the imperialist world have provided American capitalists with the new means of exerting pressure throughout the capitalist world.) This is how some typical commodities have moved:

	American Commodity Prices	
	Dec. 1950	Dec. 1951
	cents	
Dollar Materials		
Cotton (lb.) N.Y. American	42.10	44.15
Wheat (bushel), Chicago	227⅝	263⅞
Copper (lb.)	24.50	27.50
Aluminium (lb.)	17.50	19.00
Sterling Materials		
Cocoa (lb.), Accra	35.75	30.62
Tin (lb.)	139.00	103.00
Rubber (London prices converted) ...	60.80	48.25

This is just one example of the American policy of weakening of British imperialism. During the Second World War British imperialism surrendered extensive overseas investments and became dependent upon financial aid from the U.S.A. At every turn new difficulties are created for British imperialism. Export markets will be lost to German and Japanese competition which has been built up under American tutelage. Britain's economy is to be burdened with a huge arms programme.. East-West trade is barred. The British imperialists take what the U.S. imperialists hand out because they can rely only on the American imperialists to buttress up the cause of exploitation and reaction by which they themselves live. So British imperialism grovels before its more powerful rival and each new round of difficulties sends Britain to the U.S.A. for 'accommodation' and each time the terms and conditions of such accommodation create for British imperialism new difficulties and new weaknesses. Within this unequal relationship between Britain and America the antagonism between the two imperialisms sharpens.

The British monopoly capitalists faced with their profound crisis take steps that are designed to protect only their own narrow interests—no one else's. The crisis of poverty and shortage, anxiety and lack of work that faces the British people can, of course, only be made worse by the cuts in food, reduced

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social services and rising prices with which the Tories 'meet the crisis'. The Tory policy is a continuation of the Gaitskell and Attlee policy which clamped down on social services, cut capital expenditure and reduced living standards by rising prices; but it also carries the attack on the people to a new stage. The essential feature of the new stage of Tory policy is the undermining of the economic position of the people, making the workers feel the whip of unemployment and trying to sap their morale. Higher food prices, shorter rations, putting hire-purchase out of the poor man's reach, slashed social services, stiff payments for health treatment, etc. are all part of this policy; but the kernel of it is the new monetary policy and the use of controls, in particular steel control, to kill the consumer goods industries. The smaller firms, particularly in the 'non-essential' consumer goods industries, will be deprived of credit, starved of raw materials and will often be unable to raise funds to meet the swollen prices of their materials. This means mounting unemployment, reduced output of consumers goods and economic stagnation in this sector of industry which will tend to spread and be cumulative in its effects. The working class as a whole will be impoverished and weakened as a result.

In the orgy of cuts, bankruptcies and sackings that Tory policy favours, the big monopoly capitalists will, of course, remain exempt. They are in with the banks (or rather, they *are* the banks) and will get their credits; they are in with the Government and will get their materials, and anyhow it is they who have the big arms orders and will get priority all down the line. The deeper meaning of Tory policy, is, therefore, to clear the way before the big trusts. The British imperialists hope to solve their crisis by more poverty, more exploitation. However, their counsel is the counsel of despair. British imperialism has already added vastly to its trade deficit by overseas military expenditure. It now throws itself more deeply into economic crisis by ever bigger military expenditure in order to do America's warlike bidding and to hold down the British empire. However, the resources of British imperialism fall, it is evident, far short of its reactionary ambitions. British imperialism's answer to this crisis paves the way to new and deeper crises.

The facts of the crisis have only to be studied for the way out for the British people to stand out clearly. Before all else the need is peace, to grasp the hand of friendship that the Soviet Union,

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China and the People's Democracies offer. Remove the burden of arms expenditure and Britain is free again to develop her health, education, housing and other social services. Develop trade with the Empire countries, not on the basis of exploitation but of equality, and military overseas expenditure in the Empire is at once wiped out. Break with the policy of subservience to U.S. capitalism; that is the key to everything else. Then peace can be built in the world. Then East-West trade can be developed with all the immense advantages it offers to Britain, the stable trade relations that go with socialist planning, stable sources of supply and stable outlets for the products of our export industries, expanding trade as socialist production expands, stronger and stronger guarantees of peace as trade expands and a new structure of international trade emerges. Let the State's resources that at present go to progressing arms production at once be turned to pushing through long-term undertakings to supply socialist and Empire countries in return for the goods that Britain needs. At once what an advance this would mean on the poverty and dislocation of militarised production. It is true that before poverty and insecurity can ultimately be ended in Britain, a fundamental reorganisation of the economy on the basis of socialist planning and public ownership is indispensable; but to halt the disintegration of the economy and the impoverishment that the policies of the war-mongers and the imperialists impose upon Britain, would be a step of great historical importance along the road that will lead to a Socialist Britain.

'MOTHER CHINA'

K. AHMAD ABBAS

(Continued from where the old peasant heroine, after describing a year of Kuomintang tortures, ends with the words: 'And then, my son, I died'.)

As I looked at her, surprised at this statement, her ugly distorted features were transformed as if by the glow of an inner flame. In that moment, this simple peasant woman who 'died' ten years ago for the victory of the Chinese revolution and was calmly, even cheerfully, describing all the agonies she had suffered, became the 'livingest' symbol of the indestructible, deathless spirit of the Chinese people. Bit by bit I got from

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herself the story of Chang Mama's 'death'. It seems that what she casually, almost cheerfully, refers to as her 'death' was the state of utter exhaustion and collapse caused by the tortures inflicted by her Kuomintang captors. When she fainted that day, her pulse which was already extremely weak, very nearly stopped, and the jail warders actually believed she was dead. So they threw her on a heap of dead bodies—the grim harvest of that morning's firing squad—and crossed out the name of Chang Su Lien from their records. Indeed, the higher authorities were duly informed that the 'stubborn bandit woman' was no more alive, having 'died of a weak heart'.

While the dead bodies awaited burial in a mass grave—the parsimonious Kuomintang officials believed that to bury their victims it was 'cheaper by the dozens'—the news spread in the village that Chang Mama had been killed and that her body lay in the heap behind the prison wall.

So that night the 'dead' body of Chang Su Lien was 'stolen' by the patriotic villagers and secretly carried to the house of her sister where, to their joyful surprise, it was discovered that the flame of life still flickered in her tortured, unconsciousu body. And so, in her own words, 'by their love and care, my sister and the village folk who were like my children made me live again.' She regained consciousness only after five days—and even then for some time she imagined she was in 'the other world'. She recalls with gratitude how for more than a year, her sister had to nurse her like a helpless child, personally attending to all her needs.

'I couldn't move my hands or feet, I was so weak—for some days I couldn't even see properly', she said, 'I couldn't eat, either, for the swollen jaws wouldn't move, and my sister had to make a thin soup of boiled flour and feed me like a baby.' Again with her irrepressible smile, she pointed to her nose, twisting it in an amazing grimace, 'The stink from my sores which had kept the Kuomintang devils away was now even more foul and my sister had to burn incense in my room all the time. Without the incense even I couldn't bear my own awful smell.'

Her sister wanted to take Chang Mama to a hospital for proper treatment, but she wouldn't hear of it. 'I wanted the Kuomintang to keep on believing I was dead, while going to a hospital would have given the whole game away. So when I could talk, I told my sister to dig in the courtyard where I had previously buried a bottle of medicine which General Yi of the New Fourth had given me just for such an emergency.' It was this medicine and

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her sister's love and care—and, of course, limitless faith in the ultimate victory of the Red Army—that brought about her miraculous recovery. It was two years before she could walk and resume her work but as soon as she was able to do so, she was once more on the move, hobbling on her baby's feet over the hills, tramping from village to village in the darkness and silence of the night, preaching in whispers the gospel of revolt.

Meanwhile, the Kuomintang got to know that, despite what their records showed, Chang Mama was not only alive, but once more active. They questioned one of her daughters, who had remained behind in the village. 'She says to them "My mother has become crazy after her long illness and has left home to wander in the hills and she will never come back." She tells them exactly what I have told her to say. And of course, it is not a lie, for I *am* crazy, but not because of some ghost or devil—I am crazy *for the revolution*—and I am decided in my mind that I will go back to my village only when the Kuomintang is finished and the peasants have got the land.'

Now she joined a band of active guerilla fighters and organised villagers all over the Province to harass the Kuomintang army and civil authorities. She proudly recalls one particular incident when the peasant guerillas of her group managed to burn down three Kuomintang army posts. 'It was quite simple, my son,' she explained with due modesty, 'during the night one of us would soak a cotton-padded coat in water and put in on the head and then quietly crawl up to the fortification, carrying the straw and kerosene. Once kerosene is properly sprinkled and the straw put where it is required, one little match is enough to burn down the whole place. And if one is caught in the flames, the cotton-padded coat soaked in water is already there to protect one.' I asked her if 'one of us' meant herself, but the modest old lady would not claim any glory. 'I can't remember. There were many of us and everyone did what one must.' She paused and then uttered words of a profound philosophy. 'The deed is what matters, my son, not the name. What difference if it was me or someone else?'

She was willing, however, to describe the hardships of the guerilla life in general. 'It was hard—very hard—some days there is nothing to eat—and there is no shelter from the sun or the rain or the snow—not even at night—and if the clothes get wet there is no time or place to dry them—so we let them dry naturally with the heat of the body . . .' So I could understand the origin of the dry rasping cough which frequently punctuated

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and interrupted her speech. It developed into a spasm now, and my interpreter reminded me that the interview must be causing quite a strain to the old lady. So I communicated to her that if she was tired we could postpone the interview for some other time. But, having mastered the fit of coughing, she would not hear of going without finishing our talk.

Anxious to spare her further strain, I decided not to elicit any more details of her revolutionary career and instead asked her what she thought of conditions in her country now that the revolution for which she and others had fought so hard had truly been achieved.

'Ah, yes, my son,' she began, 'we are free at last; the peasants have the land, I and my family too, have received our due share —and in all villages we are working hard to increase production, to grow more and more grain, to reclaim the barren land—in my own village several hundred acres of such land are now being ploughed—for all this is also part of the revolution. That is what Chairman Mao says—that the old revolutionaries must now work on the production front with the same spirit with which they fought the Japanese and the Kuomintang. So you already have the beginning of new life—all of us have better clothes to wear instead of the patched-up rags we were wearing once'—she pointed to the crumpled but indisputably brand-new clothes she was wearing—'and our children go to school now—even the old folk are learning to read and write'—again there was that sweet toothless smile—'yes, even I can read and write now'—and she produced a diary from her pocket to show off her calligraphy and note down my name and was hugely amused when I, in my turn, showed off my ability to sign my name in Chinese characters!

I took the opportunity to pay my homage to the veteran revolutionary and said that the freedom and progress of China, being in such steady hands, was fully assured. She shook her head vigorously, 'Oh no, no—we old folk are nothing—we have done nothing—it is the youth—young men and young women—who are going to build up New China. They have strength in their hands'—she raised her own thin bony arm to demonstrate the strength of youthful muscles! 'They have the knowledge too, and they have many machines now to work for them. They have the leadership of Chairman Mao to guide them. Yes, we have everything—a big land, and many, many people, wise leaders and good friends like the Soviet Union which is doing everything to help us.'

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A WITCH-HUNT VICTIM

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

IN the land of Paine, Garrison and Whitman, one social prophet worthy of his people's heritage still lives, appropriately obscure in the day when its heroes are MacArthur, McCarran and McCarthy. His name is Raymond Robins, and his prophetic stature is heart-warmingly recalled in the transcript of his 1933 talk with Stalin, published for the first time in December's *Labour Monthly*.

When Robins' biography is published—an event unlikely to occur until atom-happy America sobers up as the fruits of its present folly are reaped—the fact that in these years wisdom was not absent, but merely gagged and ignored, will be dramatised in a way every American can readily understand. Sadly late, it will be seen by all in America's 'Time of the Toad' it was not merely the 'foreign ideologist', the atheist, the 'failure' under capitalism, who was spat upon and silenced, but Truth itself, championed by no matter whom in no matter what words. For Raymond Robins is (or was until recently) a multi-millionaire, the associate of Wall Street President-makers and of Presidents. He is a Christian of extraordinary devoutness, daily reader for half a century of a tattered Bible whose annotations—jotted down as its owner carried it round the world through the history he helped make—qualify it for the greatest of post-Toad museums. He is passionately devoted to his own land, a master of its history, an American whose yardstick has always been America—its growing welfare in the future based upon the best in its past. Finally, he is the personification of the Horatio Alger success story: he started to work at the age of eight, left to seek his fortune at 17 with $14, became a miner (and was blacklisted for helping to organise one of the first strikes against the 12-hour day, seven-day week), and just 50 years ago returned to his native land with a fortune in gold dug up in the Yukon.

When his story is told it will become manifest to his deluded countrymen that it was not in spite of, but because of, these things that Robins has been the most unwavering American champion of U.S.-Soviet co-operation since the day the people took Russia from the Tsars. Robins has given away most of his fortune in money (*over $3,000,000 at one time*), but two Yukon acquisitions

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he never lost: his religious fervour, a fervour concerned only with ethics in action, quite oblivious to verbal 'piety'; and what he strikingly calls 'the outdoor mind'—the insistence on finding out the facts for himself before forming an opinion, and unshakable faith in his decision based upon the facts.

For full understanding, his talk with Stalin must be seen against the background of his first Russian trip in 1917-18. The highlights of this are in Michael Sayers' and Albert Kahn's book, *The Great Conspiracy*. The Red Cross mission with which he went to Russia following the Kerensky revolution, as second in command to the Wall Street magnate William B. Thompson, soon found itself much more than just that: U.S. Ambassador Francis, supporting the interventionists, holed up in Vologda, and the Mission (with Robins taking charge soon after the Bolsheviks took power) was the only possible liaison between Washington and the new government. After travelling all over the country, Robins—who, while steeped in the tradition of the American Revolution, had never thought in other than capitalist terms—simply reported what he saw with his outdoor mind: that the soviets were the only effective power, and Lenin's government was the one nearly everybody in Russia wanted.

That Lenin was one of history's greatest men, Robins had realised from listening to what the people had to say about him and from personal observation on the famous occasion in the Smolny Institute of which Robins recalls these impressions:

'After a while Lenin came out on the stage. The ovation was unlike anything I have ever seen. Lenin let it continue for a few minutes, standing absolutely still, then with a single motion of his arms across his body stopped the uproar instantaneously and you could have heard a pin drop. He said something like this: "Comrades, you do well to cheer the revolution. You do not cheer me". He took some draft decrees from his pocket and said: "Now we have serious work to do"—and went over the decrees one by one. When the meeting ended, the dawn light was beginning tc show. He said: "Now I want everyone to go and have a good rest. Tomorrow the Soviet workers' republic will be born".

'Next day Thompson asked me where I had been all night. I told him, and said: "This man Lenin is a great man. These people will go to the limit for him. Anyone who thinks leadership like that can be beaten by what we see of opposition in Russia is crazy".'

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Because he saw this government would endure, Robins urged economic relations with it which, he pointed out, would be to America's advantage over other countries committed to the illusion that it could be smashed. Soviet Russia was certain to be a rich market for what America wanted to sell. Unversed in the Marxist theory that shaped the Bolshevik's programme, Robins nevertheless understood the programme instinctively in terms of his kind of religion. In the twice-weekly meetings he had with Lenin he took what opportunities offered themselves to try and persuade the genius of the revolution that he was heading a religious movement without knowing it. Lenin appears to have listened as he listened to everyone with something serious to say; but he was somewhat pressed by immediate problems, and the most Robins got out of him were these words drily but warmly spoken at their last interview: 'I am not converted—but you have spoken to me about this subject as no-one else ever has. I shall remember what you have said'.

Robins' Christian faith, and his genuine loyalty to capitalism (which, however, he wanted 'modified') so far as America was concerned, did not mitigate the public martyrdom awaiting him on his return. In a fantastic Senatorial 'investigation' he was the first victim of the great American witch-hunt which has continued, on and off, ever since.

His Wall Street friends tried to reason with him in the years that followed. Taking Robins up the Hudson for the week-end on one of his two yachts, Thomas Lamont offered to put him on a favoured list of substantial citizens getting inside Morgan dope on stocks certain to rise at least five points a share. But Robins was constitutionally unable to move in the opposite direction from history. He worked on each President personally—Harding, Coolidge, Hoover—to advance America's interests by recognising and trading freely with the Soviet Union. All promised before election to do this in return for the support Robins could give them as a leading political figure in Chicago. All let him down.

When Roosevelt became President, Robins told his friends in the new Cabinet (he had four of them) that he would not approach FDR on the subject without again checking the facts after the 15 years that had passed. The decision that he should go was made by his wife, a high-born but selfless and fearless woman who shared and inspired all his work and whose judgment he respected above all others.

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'As a private citizen' (as he told Stalin), he took his outdoor mind all over the U.S.S.R. and saw for himself that the three most widespread notions about the socialist state were nonsense. The Russian worker was just as capable as any other of learning to use machines. The vast majority of the peasantry were sold on farm collectivization, and it was 'producing'. And far from being 'terrorized by secret police', as John Dewey was telling America, Soviet children were better cared for than any others in the world. At Magnitogorsk, where on his previous visit there had been nothing, Robins tells of his remark to a Soviet worker: 'Lenin ought to be here'. The worker replied: 'He is'. Just six months after he talked with Stalin—he had given a detailed report to Roosevelt on his return—Robins was an honoured guest at a Waldorf-Astoria banquet where America's top businessmen celebrated the U.S. recognition of the U.S.S.R., and drank toasts to the mutually profitable trade which would result.

Robins' conviction that the Soviet Union is essentially a religious enterprise, recapturing the co-operative dynamic of true religion from the priests and priest-purchasers who turned Christianity into its opposite, was confirmed by Stalin's words: 'With us production is regarded as a social matter, a public matter, it is considered a matter of honour'. To Robins' observation on the Soviet workers' 'new aspiration that money could never buy . . . something better and greater than money can give', Stalin replied: 'That is true'. Robins made a note in his Bible against the vision of a golden age in Isaiah 35—'the desert shall blossom as the rose', and the passage in Matthew (7:16): 'Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?'

Arguments about this interpretation aside, there was nothing starry-eyed about the conclusions of Robins the practical politician. 'The situation forces us above all', he told Stalin, 'to follow our own interests. . . . We are interested in the development of American exports. The only big market with great possibilities . . . is the Russian market'.

If the prophet knew whereof he spoke in 1917, and again in 1933, his point is doubly true today when the market open at any time for American exports, but closed by America's own action, has grown to encompass almost half the world.

'This matter' commented Stalin in 1933 with his genius for understatement, 'presents great difficulties'. The difficulties have

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grown rather than diminished; but Robins remains 'an incurable optimist', convinced that the country he loves will turn from preparations for suicide to the wise—and traditionally most American—pursuit of its own best interests.

The outdoor mind knows this must be the final outcome; for 'facts are stubborn things'.

Book Reviews

WHITE BOOK

White Book on The American and British Policy of Intervention in West Germany and the Revival of German Imperialism, published in Berlin. (200 pp. Collet's. 6s.)

MR. HUGH DALTON has hold us that German rearmament is the 'road to hell'. In a single broadcast speech he destroyed the facade of support which M.P.s and trade union leaders had given to a policy many of them knew to be wrong. The Labour and Trade Union movement knew from the start that in agreeing to give arms to Western Germany in which former Nazi industrialists and politicians were openly in control, Mr. Bevin, Mr. Morrison and those supporting them, had betrayed every principle on which their government was elected. The Co-operative Movement denounced German rearmament from the beginning, but a year ago it adopted a modified protest in an attempt to appease the Labour leaders. Now the Political Committee of the London Co-operative Society is organising a mass conference to mobilise a campaign against it. On the Tory benches in the House of Commons there is uneasiness, for British industrialists know that once U.S. and West German capital has re-created the Ruhr, Britain, like France, will become a very junior partner. The effects of West German competition are already creating a united movement of protest among Lancashire's manufacturers and trade unionists. The basis is here for a nation-wide struggle against a policy which everyone knows will lead to disaster.

Ample material for this struggle is to be found in this White Book of the German Democratic Republic. Here is the evidence to show that the betrayal by the Western Powers of the pledges given at Potsdam, was the necessary preliminary for their war preparations. In the light of the cold facts recounted in this book, the earlier protestations of the Western leaders to justify their abandonment of Potsdam are revealed as the cheapest deception of the people. They said that unity of Germany was made impossible because the Russians wouldn't share the agricultural produce of their zone with the starving towns of the West. We know now that it was the Western black market which led to the starvation of Germany, and that from 1945 the men running the Western Zones were determined that there should be no united Germany. When the Foreign Ministers' Conference in London finally broke down, the Americans said that the deadlock was due to Russian insistence on reparations. We know now that the American plans for a separate currency, for a West German Government and for the re-

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creation of German arms industry, had already been formulated.

This White Book puts the manœuvres of the Western Powers against the historical background of the aggressive forces in Germany which created two world wars and are preparing now for a third. The thread which runs through all the post-war story of Germany is the determination of the Western Powers not to carry out the pledge given at Potsdam to break up German cartels. All the documentation of that betrayal is recorded in this book. Early in the occupation, the Americans realised that if fascism were genuinely to be destroyed, then there must be a change in the whole social structure of Germany. The American officials who saw this fact and who fought to carry out the pledges of Potsdam were soon removed. The Americans who took over were the very men who had helped to build up the German cartels during the Weimar and the Hitler periods. The great iron, steel and coal monopoly of the Ruhr has been re-created. The German chemical trust is again making weapons of war. While the Russians, in their zone of Germany, meticulously carried out their pledge to destroy all war factories and war potential (this is vouched for in the report of a four power Commission of investigation), the war industry of Western Germany was kept in being from the start. Today, the United States is providing £200 million in order to recreate German war industry on a mass basis. The White Book gives a detailed picture of the interlocking of German and American capital. Standard Oil, whose pre-war agreements with I.G. Farben were denounced by the U.S. Anti-Trust Department during the war, is financing construction of oil refineries and the opening of oil-fields in Western Germany. General Electric, whose pre-war agreement with Krupps before 1939 kept America short of vital war materials, is deeply entrenched in the West German electro-technical industry. General Motors owns outright the German Opel car firm. Ford's has a subsidiary in Western Germany.

The White Book points out that Charles Wilson, closely associated with General Electric, is in charge of America's war production. His opposite number in West Germany is Otto A. Friedrich, general director of a firm closely connected with the American Firestone Tyre and Rubber Corporation. Little wonder that the politicians and industrialists in Bonn are boasting that the Schuman Plan is designed to make the Ruhr the dominant economic centre of Western Europe. Little wonder that even before rearmament begins they are making their demands on France. The White Book warns of all these dangers. It does not mince its words when it declares:

> Reviving German imperialism is creating the new offensive army with which it wants to conquer supremacy in Europe under the leadership of the U.S.A. German imperialism using the excuse of 'uniting Europe' is trying to

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establish its leadership over the European Marshall Plan countries and to prepare the attack on the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic.

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GORDON SCHAFFER.

SOVIET GENETICS

Soviet Genetics, by Alan G. Morton, B.Sc., Ph.D. (174 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. 15s.)

SINCE the great genetics controversy arose, now many years ago, condemnation of Soviet biological theory has developed into a weapon of the cold war against the Soviet Union and the most fantastic attacks are launched without any attempt to examine the evidence for Soviet views. Dr. Morton has the merit of presenting the first full length account of the scientific experiments on which the Michurinist views are based and of the agricultural techniques which have been developed in the U.S.S.R. as a result. This authoritative exposition and discussion of Soviet work by a skilled biologist, citing over 100 scientific papers studied in the original, is more than a report, it is itself a study of and contribution to the whole problem. It is a subject of vastly more than specialised interest but the non-specialist must be prepared for some careful reading, for the author makes few concessions to the reader regarding scientific terminology.

Dr. Morton is not primarily concerned with the sterile polemic that has developed over here, but before dealing with the experimental data he has a short introductory chapter in which he puts this controversy into perspective, particularly stressing that the attack on Mendelian theory in the U.S.S.R. did not arise in any artificial way but directly from the interplay of theory and practice in the development of socialist agriculture in the U.S.S.R. The enormous practical scale of this testing can be seen from the example that, since Lysenko's first successful use of vernalisation of winter wheat in 1929, already by 1933 more than half a million acres were sown with vernalised wheat and in 1941 more than 25 million acres.

The victory of the Michurinist trend in Soviet biological theory developed during the years 1938-1948 on the basis of practice and culminated in the famous meeting of the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences in 1948 in which some 700 leading scientific workers took part. Dr. Morton not only disposes of the

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contention that the endorsement of the conclusions of that conference by the Soviet Government and the Communist Party was based on non-scientific 'ideological' grounds, but devotes a chapter to the theory of the gene in which he reinforces the biological arguments against the position of Mendelian genetics by an outline of the fundamental theoretical criticism on the basis of dialectical materialism. For the bourgeois scientific reader, however, it would perhaps have been better to deal with this after discussion of the experimental data, which the subsequent chapters discuss in detail.

Dr. Morton begins this by considering the evidence for the Michurinists' claim that the hereditary nature of plants can be altered in a directed manner by controlled changes in the environment. He begins with vernalisation and the hereditary transformation of winter wheat into spring wheat, showing how this leads to the phasic theory of development, each phase in the development of the organism requiring a specific complex of environmental conditions and forming also a condition for the succeeding phase. In contrast to the Mendelian view, Michurinist genetics shows the inseparable unity of the organism and its environment. At the same time the experiments show that hereditary variation arises only when the norms of the specific metabolic phases are disrupted but that this does not take place under all conditions so that changes in the metabolism of the organism are not necessarily or readily transmitted to the reproductive cells.

It is impossible to summarise here the experimental work dealt with by Dr. Morton. What is important is that he not only acquaints us for the first time with the details of the work on such subjects as inbreeding, hybrid vigour, intra-varietal crossing, vegetative hybrids, multiple fertilisation, etc., but shows us how the results obtained led to a progressive development of the Michurinist theory and inspired fresh researches. There follows a chapter on heredity and nuclear structure, which presents a powerful destructive criticism of the chromosome theory of heredity but which is less convincing in showing that, as he says, 'Michurinist theory is capable of giving a biologically more consistent explanation of hybrid segregation'.

Finally, Dr. Morton has chapters on Michurinism and Agriculture and on the Scientific and Social Significance of the new theory. In contrast to the fact that outside the U.S.S.R. the practical methods of plant and animal breeders are largely empirical and derive little from genetical theory, in the U.S.S.R. the Michurinist methods are being employed and tested on a tremendous scale. Besides the older research institutes there are over 70 State Selection Stations, covering all soils and climates, each with 4-500 acres. New varieties of crops are rapidly adopted over millions of acres, new techniques such as that of additional pollination are tested by hundreds and thousands of collective farms. Dr. Morton notes that the Soviet people are convinced that Michurinism has completely justified itself in the hard test of practice, that they regard it as a triumph of socialism and a vital weapon in their great programme of advance towards Communism.

CLEMENS DUTT.

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MULTUM IN PARVO

Recent trends in the Law of the United Nations, by Hans Kelsen, Professor of Political Science at the University of California (Berkeley), being a supplement to 'The Law of the United Nations', published under the auspices of the London Institute of World Affairs by Stevens & Sons Ltd. 86 pp. (numbered 909 to 984). *10s. 6d.*

WHEN you have given the full title that stands at the head of this notice, you have really said everything essential to characterise this slim volume. The work is by a professor, it is therefore scholarly and closely argued. The subject is the legal standing of the various actions and resolutions of the United Nations of late years. These constitute something additional to and quite outside the body of law as originally laid down when Professor Kelsen wrote his first, and larger, study of the subject. Being scholarly, the book could scarcely arrive at any other conclusion. But being by an American scholar, it has to safeguard itself by a hasty preface explaining that no matter how illegal these actions are, they constitute now a new law; the author could scarcely be sure of his bread and butter in any other fashion. An institutional godfather, with a high-sounding name, is found to sponsor this humourless rigmarole in our country.

The heads covered are: the North Atlantic Pact and its implications in the light of the Charter; the action in Korea; the re-appointment of Trygve Lie; and the Acheson Plan to replace the Security Council by his tame majority in the General Assembly as an authority for the use of force. In the course of seventy-eight closely argued pages, the author

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admits at least five devastating reasons why the North Atlantic alliance is unlawful, half a dozen or a dozen riddling the pretensions of the Acheson Plan, shows that all the actions in respect to Korea, as well as the exclusion of China from the United Nations and the Security Council, are illegal from start to finish, and exposes the Secretary-General wangle as a flat violation of the Charter.*

But Professor Kelsen is not yet in jail? Nor on the stones, hounded jobless by the F.B.I.? The preface constitutes his shelter against the wrath of these functionaries. We must quote from this gem of legalistic time-serving:

'This analysis does not in every respect affirm the constitutionality of the actions under consideration. The author, however, is fully aware of the fact that the law of a community—national or international—and especially its constitution or constituent treaty, may be changed not only by formal amendments carried out in accordance with the procedure laid down for this purpose in the law itself. *It may be modified also by its actual application based on an interpretation which, more or less consistent with the letter of the law, is not in conformity with the ascertainable intention of its authors.*' (Our italics).

Thereafter Professor Kelsen becomes so exalted he rises to Latin: '. . . the author has frequently emphasised that the principle *ex injuria jus non oritur*—law cannot originate in an illegal act—has important exceptions. There are certainly cases where a new law originates in the violation of an old law. If and in so far as the organisation of collective self-defence through the North Atlantic Treaty, the action in Korea, the re-appointment of the Secretary-General, and the resolution "Uniting for Peace" are inconsistent with the old law of the United Nations, they, perhaps, constitute one of those cases of which we may say *ex injuria jus oritur*'. What a big word 'perhaps' is! To paraphrase: 'Whatever is, is right' and 'Whatever Truman and Acheson have got away with, I am not going to quarrel with it'.

This volume is highly technical and relatively small, but enshrined in it are the epitaphs of American academic liberty, the Charter, the United Nations itself, the very concepts of law, and the moral claims of all the lick-spittle British spokesmen who have murmured their gentlemanly ditto to every thumping of the arbitrary American fist.

I.M.

* Incidentally (pp. 938-9), he sets out good reason why the Truman administration ought to have locked up the Colliers cannibals.

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among them. Not everyone is so well-placed as to do it on the grand scale like those in the thick of it in factories and trade unions. But it is there, I'm convinced, that the question has only to be put to be answered. As another London man said: 'I have been a reader for a long time, but it has only just dawned on me while we have been talking what immense opportunities there are to spread it widely today. I can think of at least eight people right off who ought to be reading it, and I never thought to ask them'. No, not all have such commanding positions of influence; and some who can't be sure of selling it must hesitate to invest in extra copies for the purpose. At their disposal is the Free Specimen scheme (see back cover). One country reader has used it methodically with fine results; he writes with news of three more, bringing his score to nine new readers in a short time.

STEPNEY AND AUSTRALIA

This winning of new readers is a fine experience; as an old reader says: 'What a history has been unrolled in this 30 years of *L.M.*! To know how the thousands who read it came to know it would itself be an epic!' Yes, and fine, too, is the establishment of friendly ties. Take this Stepney veteran, who asks me to thank the Australian reader who renewed his subscription and 'made it possible for me to understand still all that is taking place internationally. It's so clear in the *L.M.*, and I do very much appreciate the comradely feeling that prompts it'. I have no space left to tell of the January fund; but notice that it includes several high non-recurrent donations.

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